Noes.

1. Mr. V. K. Kochunni Menon.
2. Mr. S. F. Nunez.
3. Mr. M. Krishna Menon.
4. Mr. P. A. Kunju Muhammad.
5. Sy. T. Madhavi Amma.
6. Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.
7. Mr. A. K. Vengu Ayyar.
8. Mr. K. Govinda Menon.
9. Mr. I. Raman Menon.
10. Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.
11. Mr. A. Eachara Menon.
12. Mr. C. Matthai.
13. Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.
14. Mr. A. Sankara Menon.
15. Sheik Abdul Qadir Sahib Bahadur.
16. Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.
17. Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.
18. Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.
19. Mr. S. S Koder.
20. Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.
21. Mr. A. Kuria Thoman.

The motion was declared lost, and the allotment the Department of Agriculture and Panchayats was passed unreduced.

President.—We shall now pass on to the next Demand. The first motion stands in the name of Mr. A. B. Salem.

DEMAND VI—Excise Rs. 3·13 lakhs

Motion No. 18.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

To reduce the allotment of Rs. 32,705 for Distillery Establishment by one rupee.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Sir, I rise to move the motion, to reduce the allotment of Rs. 32,705 for Distillery Establishment by one rupee. My object was to call your attention, Sir, in this House and the country beyond, to the enormous waste of energy that flows out of the country uselessly by the habit of drink.

Sir, we have, in our State, a very large educated population whose school-going percentages are very nearly 92, in the case of boys, and 42, in the case of girls. In such a country, if you cannot eradicate drink by voluntary act, there is no country or no part in the earth, where it can be done. Sir, here the

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Muhammadans and Hindus are both non-drinking people. To them drink is a forbidden commodity, and it is here, we find that, on account of the encouragement given by the department concerned the evil looms large, however much they might say that they look to the policy of Prohibition and maximum revenue to be gathered from minimum consumption. That is the reason, I say, if this drink habit is not nipped in the bud, it will grow from small beginnings into a demon. This department has grown with the years, and with the years, the income of the department has also risen.

Sir, we find, in the State, we have a Distillery at Trichur and a Warehouse at Ernakulam, and we find people have been so habituated to drink, in the course of the development of the department, that people do not come to drink the weaker quality of arrack, and therefore, we find the statement in the Administration Report, page 18, under Abkari, that there being no demand for the weaker quality, 60° U. P., only arrack of 35° U. P. was manufactured and issued during the year. This is an indication as to the growing taste and developed craving for drink that has been administered to the people of the country by the department. I submit that the department should not manufacture the stronger liquor at all. Let those who want to drink have 60° U. P. and be satisfied with that or not drink at all. (*Laughter*). And it is not for the department to manufacture 35° U. P. and cultivate the vicious tastes and habits of a depraved section of the people, who are not only a burden to themselves, but are also a source of annoyance to others and to their family.

Sir, it is for the acceptance of this principle by the department or, at least, to offer the department a chance to clear their position that I tabled this motion. Sir, you will find, moreover, that, in the department, we are not manufacturing liquor from the cocoanut-palm, which has served that function in the olden days which yielded us sound liquor. The palm yields us everything under the sun for domestic use. Even for the depraved taste of the drunkard it can cater very well, by giving toddy arrack. Toddy arrack is treated "foreign liquor" in our country, simply because we have departments existing outside the State, which manufacture

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that liquor. We have, consequently driven our countrymen to drink, not the wholesome liquor that can be manufactured out of toddy and our cocoanut-palm, but to drink, what we call, '*pattachcharayam*'. That is the condition into which the department, which profits the manufacturer outside the State, has brought us to. If, in British Malabar, arrack is manufactured from toddy and sold to the people in the country as foreign liquor, why can we not manufacture arrack from local toddy and give it to the people, whose tastes we have to cater to. You forbid them to get toddy arrack and force upon them this arrack made out of barks.

Sir, again, the enormous consumption and consequent waste of human energy can be seen from the number of gallons that people drink. The consumption in the State taluks amounted to 40,493 gallons proof. Now, 40,000 and odd gallons have been consumed ; by which part of the population ? I do not know the part of the population of the Hindu community that drinks, because we presume, excepting lower classes, they do not drink. Whether the presumption is right or not, it is not for me to say. Only, taking 27% of the population from the Christians and the lower classes, it is found that this consumption is an enormous consumption per head of the population. Amidst the Christians also, the Church is against drink, and their missionary efforts are also being brought to bear, side by side, to put down the evil of drink.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ (*Anglo-Indians*):

Sir, the Church is not against Prohibition. It is only against drink.

President.—Please go on, Mr. Salem.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*):

I said "against the evil of drink". And the depressed classes also are awakening themselves to the enormous waste that takes place on account of the habit of drink, and trying their level best to put it down. At such a time, I submit that it is the duty of the Government to co-operate with these healthy movements to put down drink, and that of the department to rule with a rigorous hand so as to put down the evil of drink by mak-

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ing drink as costly as possible. If possible, make it impossible to get drink, at least, of the strong quality.

We find, Sir, again, that foreign liquor licenses are also being given. America has stopped drink altogether and would not allow even English vessels to smuggle drinks. Why then, Sir, should the department allow the continuance of the license of foreign liquor shops? We have got nineteen retail foreign shops in the State and four wholesale liquor shops. Whether drinking is allowed in the wholesale shops or not, it is not for me to say. Rs. 250 is levied upon the wholesale shop-keeper.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Foreign liquor has nothing to do with the Distillery.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

But, on general principle, a 250 rupee license for wholesale shops as against Rs. 150 for retail shops is incorrect. If the wholesale shop does not exist, then retail shops will find it more difficult to exist, and therefore, if the license is made higher, it would be better for the country for preventing the import of wholesale liquor.

Sir, again, we tap altogether a very large number of trees, as would be seen from the Administration Report. 44,300 cocoanut-trees, 7,921 palmyra trees and 4,431 sago trees, during the year, are tapped.

Now, here also we must strike a note for the department, to consider the weighty remarks that have fallen from the lips of members, regarding the difficulties that are put in the way of jaggery manufacture by imposing license fees upon the trees that are tapped for making jaggery. These licenses do not exist in British India. They do not exist in Travancore. Yet, there the departments are able to encourage a healthy industry out of tapping from the pot, that must necessarily hang itself upon the tree for getting this toddy for manufacturing jaggery. Therefore, Sir, that is also an asset to the department to consider whether, in the year to come, they will bring it into line with the rules

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regarding the jaggery tapping industry, in both Travancore and Madras, and thus encourage jaggery industry.

If we cannot prevent illicit traffic, with the host of preventive forces, who are paid for this purpose, and who generally have to search people at the Railway Station, in season and out of season, there is no difficulty for this same preventive force to guard against illicit drawing of fermented toddy from the trees that are licensed for jaggery. The department, I do not think, justifies its existence if it cannot do this. It has specific duties to perform. One is prevention and the other is illicit traffic, and to say that they cannot do this will be no answer to the criticisms that have been levelled in the House. Sir, with these words, I rise to move the cut of one rupee in the budget for the Distillery establishment.

Mr. M. K. RAMAN (*Ezhuva South*).

Sir, I rise to support this motion. I wonder what a large quantity of arrack the Hon'ble Member for Excise is going to manufacture out of such a large demand of Rs. 32,573.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

The figure is a mistake. It is Rs. 32,705.

President.—Do not the figures agree?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Page 22 of the Budget. The figure Rs. 32,705 includes, not only the expenses of the Distillery establishment but also of the whole preventive force. That will be clear, if we added the figures.

President.—The amount, you have got there, includes the expenses on the preventive force also. The expenditure on the latter is not shown separately.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue.*)

Ys, Sir. The amount includes the expenses for the preventive force as well.

President.—Then the total of Rs. 32,705 is not for the Distillery.

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Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

No, Sir. It includes other items also.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON (*Mulakunnattukavu*).

The expenditure on the Distillery comes only to Rs 1,500.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

The figure is not shown separately. The expenditure on the establishment is shown separately. The details are as follows :—

One Distillery Officer	....	Rs. 80
One Assistant Officer	....	,, 40

Two peons, one on Rs. 10 and one on Rs. 9

That will be Rs. 144 per mensem, or Rs. 1,728 a year. Then, under 'Temporary establishment', there is a clerk on Rs. 20. His pay for the year will come to Rs. 24. The whole establishment costs us, including leave allowance, Rs. 1,968. And then, there is a separate establishment for the Warehouse. That is a temporary establishment. We have got an Inspector on Rs. 50 to 65—average Rs. 62—,one clerk on Rs. 50 and two peons, one on Rs. 10 and another on Rs. 9. The cost of that establishment will come to Rs. 1,052. The cost of both together is Rs. 3,020. That is all that is spent on the warehousing of liquor, including its manufacture.

President.—I suppose, the value of the arrack produced will very much exceed this amount.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Yes, Sir. It will be a very large amount.

Mr. M. K. RAMAN (*Ezhuva South*).

Sir, I am only speaking upon a principle. It is immaterial, so far as I am concerned, what the actual amount allotted for Distillery is. The Hon'ble Member pointed out that nearly 40,000 gallons of arrack is consumed, every year, by the people in the State. I think, if all the 40,000 gallons are let loose at once, it might be enough to drown all of us sitting in this House. In addition to that 40,000 and odd gallons, 46,000 cocoanut

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trees are tapped; and 7,000 and odd palmyra trees and 2,000 and odd sago trees are also tapped. If the total quantity of toddy and arrack produced in our country, in a year, is poured into our huge water tank it would be probably sufficient to fill the whole tank. My objection is to this enormous quantity. The principle of the Excise Department is to manufacture the least quantity and to collect the largest revenue. I have already pointed out to this House that this good principle is sometimes lost sight of in the enthusiasm to collect revenue. 40,000 and odd gallons of arrack and a larger quantity of toddy, every year, are bound to bring utter ruin to the people of our State. The work that would be given to the Police and Magistrates and probably to the Medical Officer, would be heavy. The expenses under these heads on account of drunkards would be perhaps more than the income that we will be able to derive out of the sale of these liquors. So I once more bring to the notice of the House that such a large quantity of alcohol should never be manufactured if we care to look to the interests of the country. We have to make a considerable reduction in the quantity. There is absolutely no harm, if the price of the arrack and other drinks is increased to an enormous extent, but the quantity has to be decreased; and this, I say, out of principle. On this principle, I beg to support the proposition put forward by Mr. A. B. Salem to reduce the allotment for Distillery, so that only a smaller quantity of arrack may be manufactured there.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Sir, the drink problem is, no doubt, one of the foremost questions of the day and leaders of public opinion, in almost every country, are engaged in devising means as to the best way of combating the drink evil. However much we may deprecate it, since we find its existence, we are doing all that we can to minimise it. As I said in my speech, the other day, before this House, it is impossible to eradicate it all at once. And with regard to the policy of this State, as stated, the other day, in the same speech, surrounded as we are by the British and the Travancore territories, we cannot have a policy independent of that followed in those territories.

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The general policy of the Government of India is to minimise temptation to those who do not drink and to discourage excess among those who do.

Mr. MATHEW KOLADI VATAKKOT (*Kunnamkulam*).

Is this the policy of the Government of India ?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

It is its general policy. I got it from the "Indian Excise Committee's Report".

"And the most effective method of furthering this policy is, to make the tax on liquor as high as it is possible, to raise it without stimulating illicit production to a degree, which will increase, instead of diminishing, the total consumption and without driving people to deleterious drugs or illicit liquor, instead of the Government-controlled liquor".

The introduction of the licensing system in the place of the old farming system, under which the Government had not much control over the number or location of shops, the steady increase in the duty on liquor, reduction of every facility to obtain drink, systematic check of illicit manufacture of liquor and the introduction of various other restrictive measures, all owe their origin to this policy. This is also the policy of the Madras Government.

The policy adopted and followed in Travancore is also in all essential respects, practically, the same.

Mr. MATHEW KOLADI VATAKKOT (*Kunnamkulam*).

Is the Hon'ble Member sure that this is the policy followed in Travancore?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

I can only say that I found this in the Report of the Travancore Excise Committee and, I believe, that the statement there is correct.

The same policy was accepted in our State also. Neither in Madras nor in Travancore, has the policy of total Prohibition at an early date found favour or been accepted. In Madras, it has been said, recently, by the Minister in charge of the Excise Department that Prohibition is not a practicable proposition. The main reasons are the extensive prevalence of illicit distillation of liquor, want of respect for Law and Order, the disinclination of the public to assist the

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Excise Officers in the detection of Abkari offences, want of enlightened public opinion against drink, and the necessity for the upkeep of a large and expensive staff with no corresponding revenue to meet this cost.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

I do not understand the reference to Law and Order.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

The Non-co-operation movement (*Laughter*).

Most of these reasons are found to exist both here and in Travancore. In these two States, there are additional facilities for illicit tapping and distillation, as cocoanut palms abound in plenty, in most places, and the difficulty of detection is increased on account of the isolated situation of the buildings, in most parts. These illicit practices are so common and so much countenanced by the people that the introduction of a prohibitive law will only result in the transfer of the trade to the illicit producer. I would, therefore, say that, in these circumstances, Prohibition at an early date is not within the range of practical politics.

What has, therefore, been done in British India is to minimise the use of the intoxicants by the exercise of control and the imposition of tax, which resulted in the adoption of measures already stated. Both Travancore and our State have introduced the same measures to minimise the evil. I shall take the measures taken in our State. I shall confine myself to the last quinquennium.

I shall first deal with the tree-tax. In the southern taluks, which adjoin the Travancore territories, the tax for drawing fermented toddy in 1095, 1096 and 1097 was 4 as. per palmyra tree, 6 as. per cocoanut tree and 8 as. per sago tree. For 1098, this was raised to 12 as., 1 rupee and Rs. 1—8—0, respectively.

Mr S. S. KODER (*Mattancheri*).

Can the Hon'ble Member give the consumption of toddy during those years?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

I can only give the number of trees tapped and the consumption of arrack.

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Mr. C. A. OUSEPH (*Chalakkudi*).

It has already been given.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

I am only stating these facts to show how the tree-tax was gradually raised to minimise consumption. In 1099, the tax was raised to Rs. 2, in the case of cocoanut trees, and to Rs. 3, in the case of sago trees. In 1100 this was again raised to Rs. 3 and Rs. 6 respectively. In these years, the tax for palmyra tree remained the same, as palmyra trees were not tapped in these taluks. Again, for next year, the tax for the cocoanut tree was raised to Rs. 4, for sago tree to Rs. 8 and for palmyra tree to Rs. 1—8—0, which rates almost correspond to those prevailing in the frontier taluks of Travancore. With regard to the northern taluks, which adjoin the British territories, the tree-tax remains the same now, as it was in 1095, namely Rs. 2, Rs. 6 and Rs. 12 for palmyra, cocoanut and sago trees, respectively.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

May I know, Sir, whether the raising of tree-tax is conducive to decrease in consumption?

Mr. V. B VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Yes, Sir, it is.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Is it actually the case?

President.—He emphatically says that it is so.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

So much as regards the raising of the tree-tax. I shall next deal with the duty on arrack. In 1095 the duty was only Rs. 3—2—0 per proof gallon in the southern taluks. For certain special reasons, it was raised to Rs. 5—10—0 in 1096. In 1097, however, it was brought down to Rs. 3—12—0, which was higher than the rate of 1095. This was the rate in 1098 and 1099. For this year, it was raised to Rs. 4—1—0, which is the rate for 1100 also. The rate in the adjoining taluks of Travancore is only Rs. 4. So we are ahead of Travancore by one anna per proof gallon. In the northern taluks, which adjoin the British territory, the rate was Rs. 7—8—0 in 1095. It was

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raised to Rs. 8—7—0 in 1096, which continues to the present day, and which is the rate prevailing in the adjoining British territories.

We have also been reducing the issue strength of arrack. The issue strength at one time was 20° U. P. It was subsequently reduced to 25° U. P., which was again reduced to 30° U. P., which was further reduced to 35° U. P. The present issue strength is 35° U. P. and 60° U. P. It was asked by the Hon'ble Member for the Jewish constituency, "Why not issue the whole arrack at 60° U. P." Though, both in British India and in Travancore, arrack of the strength of 35° U. P. and 60° U. P. are allowed to be issued, yet, as a matter of fact, only arrack at the former strength is generally issued, presumably because there is demand only for such arrack. The same is the case here also. If, therefore, we issue arrack at the strength of 60° U. P. only, there will be no demand for it, and the demand for the stronger liquor will be met by illicit supply.

President.—If the strength is reduced from 35° to 60°, I presume.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Yes, Sir, In 35° U. P. arrack there will be 35 units of water and 65 units of alcohol, whereas in 60° U. P. arrack there will be 60 units of water and 40 units of alcohol.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Cannot the manufacture and supply of illicit liquor be easily detected?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Sir, it is impossible, under the present circumstances.

President.—Cannot the strength of liquor be ascertained by some instruments.? I find some in the Distillery.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

The stronger liquor is very tasty. Is it not easy to detect the stronger liquor?

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Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Sir, everywhere it has been found very difficult to detect illicit distillation and consumption of illicit arrack. No doubt, we have been able to detect such cases often; but this is made possible, in many cases, by the information given by the enemy of the offender. Without informants, it is very difficult to detect practices of this kind.

Mr. M. K. RAMAN (*Ezhuva South*).

Even with a more efficient preventive force?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

The number of the force has to be considerably increased.

President.—He said only that detection was very difficult. Greater precautions are taken in manufacturing illicit arrack.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Why should so much quantity of arrack be manufactured?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

If we manufacture less, the demand will be met by illicit supply. That is our experience.

President:—You must try to close your points soon.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

May I put a question to the Hon'ble Member for Excise, as to the reason why only one-fourth is consumed in the northern taluks and the balance in the southern taluks? From the Administration Report, it is seen that 31,000 and odd gallons are consumed in the southern taluks and only about 8,000 and odd gallons in the northern taluks.

President:—Only one-fourth in the northern taluks?

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Roughly one-fourth. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Member can inform me the reason for it.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Sir, the centre of commerce and trade is in the southern taluks. Growth of commerce and trade

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attracts numerous floating population. The increase in consumption is, therefore, due to the presence of a large number of this floating population.

From the answers given on a former occasion, it will be seen that the consumption of arrack in 1095 was 65,519 and odd gallons but that, in 1099, it was only 40,000 and odd gallons, that is to say, a decrease of 20,000 and odd gallons. Consumption has gone down considerably, during this year. With regard to the number of trees tapped, whereas in 1095 the number was 64,000 and odd, in 1099 it was only 58,000 and odd, or a decrease of 6,000 and odd trees. This year the number of trees tapped for fermented toddy is much less than that of last year.

This gradual fall is certainly an indication of the steady decrease in consumption, and is specially significant in view of the increase in population and the steady growth of trade and commerce, which attracts a large number of floating population, during this period. The main factor, which has contributed to this fall, is the steady increase in the tree-tax and the duty on arrack.

Another factor, which tends to increase consumption, is the prevalence of illicit distillation and tapping. But our preventive staff spare no pains to detect such illicit practices and to bring the offenders to book. And several of these offenders are brought to book every year.

Mr. M. K. RAMAN (*Ezhuva South*).

Can the Hon'ble Member give the total quantity of arrack that is going to be produced for the next year?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

We do not fix the quantity to be produced. It will depend upon the demand.

Mr. A. B. SALEM (*Jews*).

Why could not arrack be manufactured out of the native toddy, instead of from jaggery and bark?

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

Here, the manufacture of arrack out of toddy is prohibited. I understand that the policy underlying the prohibition is that, if we manufacture toddy arrack, it

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will be impossible to distinguish between the licit and the illicit arrack. No doubt, toddy arrack is manufactured in Travancore; but it is done only on a very small scale. Its consumption is limited to Trivandrum and some other towns.

Thus, all that could be done to check and minimise the drink evil is done, in our State also, exactly on the lines followed in the adjoining States of British India and Travancore. The several measures taken by us will lead to gradual Prohibition. It is true that the enhancement of tree-tax and the duty on arrack, while it results in the decrease in consumption, leads to an increase in revenue, but, as the primary object of the increase is not the enhancement of Government revenue, but the control of the drink habit, the revenue which flows into the country from this source need be viewed with no more suspicion than the fines on criminals for breaches of the law.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ (*Anglo-Indians*)

Sir, I rise to support the motion, because I feel fully convinced that the department has not been trying its level best to minimise the drink evil. The effect of the rise in the price of liquor is not quite adequate to the policy which we have got before us, that is, minimising the drink evil as much as we can, in the interests of the mass of the people; and this, I find from one word in the course of a question of Mr. M. K. Raman, as to the quantity which may be produced next year. The member in charge of the Excise Department said that the quantity of supply depends upon certain circumstances of demand for arrack. Well, I say, our Excise policy is based upon a pernicious system; firstly, because it regulates the control of liquor and does not endeavour to do away with drink altogether.

The Government should not grudge to spend any amount of money in creating a preventive force, which would detect illicit traffic. Illicit traffic cannot altogether be removed from a progressive State like Cochin; in any progressive State, it is doubtful whether we could altogether get rid of illicit traffic. Human mind is so eager that it would rise to the occasion, so far as it relates to illicit traffic.

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It is on a principle that I, now, rise to support the resolution. Unless we regulate the quantity at the very outset, it would produce very great evil.

In this connection, I may point out that I am not for total Prohibition; and with regard to the reference to the Church by the member for the Jewish constituency, I may say that the Catholic Church is against Prohibition.

The drink habit has been responsible for the wholesale misery of the poor working classes here. The state of the working classes would not improve, unless this drink evil is minimised to the greatest possible extent, by the department itself.

Now, the drink problem was an important one in Ancient India; in ancient times, drinking was prevalent among high class Hindus. It was prevalent in the days of Chanakya. We find a certain policy being adopted for minimising this evil. In Chanakya's time, none was allowed to drink outside the shop. He had to go to the shop. You will find that people were given certain certificates to go to the shops and drink. If respectable persons could not help drinking, they should get licenses from the Government and go to the shop; and the mass of the people would not be allowed to drink, because Government regulated the price of the license. Well, I say, a good many things may be learned from the Ancient History of India.

Prohibition is no solution. Of course you may, by legislation, decide to have Prohibition; but Prohibition is against the primary principle of liberty. A man can enjoy drink to moderation, if that man has sense to drink wisely. Drinking is, however, en element conducive to so many evils. To minimise the evils of drink should be the policy of Cochin State. I say this without wishing to cast any slur on the attitude of the department towards the welfare of the people. Its policy has not been productive of that amount of good, which is necessary in the interest of the working classes as a whole. We have to devise a method to regulate the dreadful habit, and very few people should be given the chance of drinking.

Mr. MATHEW KOLADI VATAKKOT (*Kunnamkulam*).

Sir, at the outset, I respectfully request the Government to remove liquor shops from where they

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are not required by the people. The Trichur Municipality had requested the Government to remove, from the town, shops vending arrack and toddy; and the request was not acceded to by the Government. This is quite discouraging and disappointing. I request the Government to reconsider its decision. Petitions had been submitted to the Government, requesting to remove all liquor shops from within Kunnamkulam Town limits; and, in one of my questions, I had requested to inform this House whether any definite action has been taken with regard to those petitions, but the answer is not yet placed on the table. I respectfully submit that liquor shops should be removed from where they are not required by the local people.

British India, in pre-Reform days, was following the policy of maximum revenue and minimum consumption. But, even in British India, a change has recently taken place. After Excise was made a transferred subject, many of the Local Governments have declared Prohibition as the goal of their Excise policy. The Punjab Legislative Council adopted a resolution in favour of Local Option in 1921, and a Bill has at length been passed to give effect to this principle. The Bombay Government has accepted the recommendation to introduce Prohibition within 20 years. Not only Local Governments in British India, but many enlightened Indian States, realising the menace of the liquor traffic, are taking steps in the direction of Prohibition. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has decreed the total Prohibition of the liquor traffic, within her dominions. The State of Bhopal has accepted Prohibition. Total Prohibition was introduced in Bhavanagar State, in 1922. The neighbouring State of Palitana soon followed the example. In the State of Mysore the powers of Local Option have been conferred upon all Municipalities and District Unions. Baroda and Travancore are also taking steps in the same direction. Pudukottai is not lagging behind. The Pudukottai Legislative Council passed the following resolution, moved by Mr. G. Sundaresa Sastrigal, 29 voting for and 16 against:—

"That this Council recommends to the Government that the drink evil should be completely put an end to, in the State, and that, if it is not possible, all

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the arrack and toddy shops, except those situated in the frontier of the State, be abolished."

Loss of revenue is the most serious argument that is being put forward against the introduction of Prohibition. I do not press that Prohibition should be introduced to-morrow or next month or year. I only urge that bold and definite steps should be taken with a view to bring about Prohibition within the shortest possible period. Fall of revenue will not be a serious consideration to a true statesman, who has at heart the best interests of the people. I may state here what Mr. Gladstone said a few decades ago, in answering the argument of loss of money from the restriction of the drink traffic. "You need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must not stand in the way of needed reform. Besides, with a sober population, not wasting its energies, I shall know how to get the revenue." Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Loss of revenue can never be urged as a reason for sustaining an immoral source of revenue." We have now, before us, examples of many other Governments which are strictly working towards Prohibition, and we shall follow what they do, for recouping revenue.

Another argument against the restriction of liquor traffic is that it curtails individual liberty. In this connection, I remember what the Regent of Pudukottai stated with regard to this matter, in his reply to the Neerpalani address presented to him, in last December. He says:— "Though, in stopping drinking, we will interfere with individual liberty, the State, I concede, must give the liberty only in virtuous ways just like a father". Even John Stuart Mill recognised the necessity for restricting individual liberty in appropriate cases. In his "Essay on Liberty," he thus defines the limits of individual liberty: "Whenever there is a definite damage, or a definite risk, or damage, either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the Province of Liberty, and placed in that of Morality or Law". Even extreme individualists admit that a commodity, the consumption of which seriously affects the welfare of the community, must be controlled.

A third argument, generally advanced, is the difficulty to check illicit production within the State

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and illicit importation from outside. The Travancore and Madras Governments have now accepted Phohibition as the goal of their Excise policy; and so, it would not be very difficult now, to come to an arrangement, with these Governments, to remove all liquor shops situated in the frontier territories. Even without such an arrangement the Bombay Government has accepted the policy of introducing Prohibition within its territories within 20 years' time. Let us also have the advantage of studying and adopting the methods used by the Indian States which have introduced Prohibition.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH (*Chalakkudi*).

Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting this motion for reduction in the allotment for the Distillery. I come from a community which, along with some others, stands credited with the absorption of the poison that is manufactured at the instance of the Hon'ble Member for Excise. Sir, our request now is that the poison that is being manufactured every year may not be manufactured again, or at least that the Government may declare that the policy, hereafter, shall be to bring down the consumption evey year. A question was asked, the other day, by me as to why arrack and toddy shops were not removed from the Trichur Town. Let us see what reply the Hon'ble Member representing the Excise Department has vouchsafed for that question. My question was this:—Why the Government has not acceded to the proposal of the Trichur Municipality in regard to the removal of arrack and toddy shops." And the Superintendent of Excise said in reply "Government considers that it is not worthwhile nor necessary to go into the reasons by which arrack and toddy shops were not driven out of the Trichur Town. The experiment was tried in the Ernakulam Municipality where the location of arrack and toddy shops was prohibited and the result has been anything but satisfactory. Since it was only licit liquor and not the host of consumers that was extermed from the Municipal area, illicit supply, illicit possession and illicit sale of liquor have considerably increased. This is always the case where licit supply is cut off where there is demand."

Sir, a more defamatory statement against this capital town of Ernakulam, your seat, Sir, and the head-

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quarters of the Hon'ble Member cannot be conceived. But what are the facts? I challenge the statement made by the Hon'ble Member. How many cases have there been of illicit supply, or of illicit possession or of illicit manufacture of liquor here? The Hon'ble Member has a costly machinery behind his back, and in a town like this it is not very difficult to prevent by his costly machinery the illicit manufacture of toddy or arrack.

Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Member to prove the statement that he has made. If there has been a case of illicit manufacture of arrack or similar breaches of the Excise laws here, then, it is for the Hon'ble Member to do the needful to prevent such breaches in future.

Mr. V. B. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR (*Superintendent of Excise Revenue*).

There were so many cases even last year.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH (*Chalakkudi*).

A mere statement that there had been many such cases will not do. We have to be satisfied with facts and figures. This House representing the various constituencies can be satisfied only with facts and figures and not random statements. The Hon'ble Member for Ernakulam will agree with me when I say that, since the time when the shops were removed, this town has been making rapid strides towards a peaceful life, especially in particular quarters of the town. My experience is limited in regard to this town. But I can say there were days when you could never pass through certain places without coming across some drunken brawl.

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON (*Vyttila*).

But my experience is that when shops are removed from one area to another, the drunkards migrate to shops outside Municipal limits. Hence only when the removal of shops comes to preventing drinking, should shops be removed from the whole of the State.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH (*Chalakkudi*).

Gradual reduction in consumption of drink is a policy that we should urge for the acceptance of the Government, and which the State should accept. The Government should not depend upon a tax which has

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its roots in vice. Drinking leads to vices and to crime. The Finance Member has stated—and his statement has been supported by the member representing Excise—that the policy of the Government is to get a maximum revenue from a minimum consumption, that the policy of the Government was to reduce the consumption of drink. But the policy now followed—as I shall presently show—is not adapted to bring down the quantity that is consumed every year. Before doing so, let me refer to the solitary instance, during the last several years, of a statement having been made in the Administration Report regarding the State's Excise policy. In the Administration Report for 1091, Mr. Bhore says:—"The statistics available show a sufficiently considerable increase in the consumption of spirits during the year to postulate an increase of the drinking habit. It is a matter of grave doubt if any of the remedies suggested for this evil, short of legislative prohibition, are calculated to effect any permanent material reduction in its extent. Every effort will be made to effect a reasonable reduction in the number of liquor shops, and this, with an increase of price, may possibly have some slight effect". Sir, time has shown that reduction of shops and increase in price have not the anticipated effect.

The number of shops have, no doubt, been reduced. While the number of toddy shops in 1089 stood at 753, their number was reduced to 467 by 1099, and the number of arrack shops was reduced from 294 in 1089 to 251 by 1099. But let us look at the consumption of drink for which these shops stand responsible. While 56 105 trees were tapped for fermented toddy in 1092, their number increased to 58,395 by 1099, and the quantity of arrack consumed rose from 37,238 gallons in 1089 to 40,493 gallons by 1099. These figures clearly show that reduction in the number of shops is no remedy.

Certain arguments have been advanced by the Hon'ble Member in support of the present policy, but they are all stock arguments whose merit lies only in their frequent repetition by the bureaucracy. It is time that we declare that our policy is, definitely, to reduce the consumption of drink, and in course of time to uproot the drink habit. We cannot be merely satisfied

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with pious statements that the Government intend to get a maximum revenue from a minimum consumption, and that the department is trying to bring down consumption of drink. That was what the Hon'ble Member for Excise stated. But he is not supported therein by the figures he supplied in the budget estimate. The tree-tax for fermented toddy stood at Rs. 1,40,177 in 1099. Rs. 1,65,000 was budgetted for in 1100. The revised figure was also Rs. 1,65,000; and now the budget figure for 1101 stands at Rs. 1,80,000. Does this indicate increase or decrease of consumption? There can be no two opinions on this question. While the Government proclaims that its policy is to cut down consumption, their policy has actually been to supply the increasing demand.

Sir, this drink evil makes our homes poor. Only by reducing it can we effect the economic salvation of our people. It has been estimated that over 25 lakhs of rupees is annually spent over drinks by a small section of the people—the visitants of the drinking saloons of the State. If the State policy is so shaped as to make a saving of this 25 lakhs, we shall, certainly, be making the homes in Cochin brighter. The State stands to benefit by improving the economic condition of the people. The time is not in the far distance, when the people who are now, on an average, paying $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per head per year as tax will have to be taxed further. As matters stand, there is no scope for levying a new tax. You have to increase their means of income by increasing their capacity for work. But, by distributing drink, the Government is reducing their capacity to a very geat extent. Therefore, Sir, in the name of humanity, in the name of wives who have to stand constant belabouring by their drunken husbands, in the name of children who have to beg in the streets on account of the follies of their drunkard fathers, in the name of fathers swelling our jail population, in the name of religion, in the name of all that is sacred, finally, in the name of the hearth and the home, I appeal to the House to pass this motion. If we succeed in uprooting the drink habit, we shall have happier hearths and homes in future, and there shall arise generations loyal and sturdy and ready to fight Cochin's cause for ever.

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മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ (വാലന്മാർ).

സർ, ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ സാധുക്കളുടെ ഉന്നമനത്തെ കാംക്ഷിക്കുന്ന എല്ലാവരും മദ്യപാനത്തെ നിരോധിക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഈ ഭയങ്കര ദോഷം സാധുസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിയെ പല വിധത്തിലും തടയുന്നുണ്ട്. മദ്യപന്മാരായ സാധുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽ സ്ഥാപിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള പരസ്പരസഹായസംഘങ്ങളുടെ നടത്തിപ്പ് വളരെ മന്ദഗതിയിലാകുന്നു. നേരെമറിച്ച് സാധുക്കൾ എങ്കിലും അമദ്യപന്മാരായവരുടെ സംഘങ്ങൾ കണിശമായും നല്ല സ്ഥിതിയിലും നടന്നുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഇവിടേയുള്ള സാധുക്കളുടെ ഉന്നമനത്തെ അഭിലഷിക്കുന്ന എല്ലാവരും മദ്യവ്യാപാരത്തേയും അതിന്റെ പ്രചാരത്തേയും എല്ലാവഴിക്കും നിരോധിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. മദ്യാനിലും മറ്റും മദ്യപാനനിയന്ത്രണം ഇല്ലായെന്നും എക്സൈസ് സൂപ്രണ്ടവർകൾ ഇവിടെ പ്രതിവാദിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ ഇവിടത്തെ സാധുജനങ്ങളെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന പല അനാചാരങ്ങളും മദ്രാസിലും മറ്റും ഇല്ലെന്നുവെച്ച് ഇവിടേയും ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ ബദ്ധശ്രദ്ധയുള്ളവരാരും ശ്രമിച്ചുകാണുന്നില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ മാത്രം മദ്രാസിനേയോ, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനേയോ നാം അനുകരിക്കുന്നത് ആശാസ്യം ആയിരിക്കുകയില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ച് ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ അഭിനയെ അനുകരിക്കുക തന്നെയായിരിക്കും ശ്രേയസ്കരമായിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതിന്റെ പ്രചാരത്തെ നിയന്ത്രിക്കുവാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ അനന്തങ്ങളാണ്. അവയെ സവിസ്തരം പ്രതിവാദിക്കുവാൻ ഇവിടെ അവസരം ഇല്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നു.

ഒരു നഗരത്തിലേയോ ഗ്രാമത്തിലേയോ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളും തങ്ങളുടെ നഗരത്തിലോ ഗ്രാമത്തിലോ ഷാപ്പുകൾ പാടില്ലെന്നും അവിടത്തെ ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാർ ഷാപ്പുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചുകിട്ടണമെന്നും ആവശ്യപ്പെടുമ്പോൾ ഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിന്റെ ഹിതാനുസാരം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതായിരിക്കും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനു മദ്യപാനപ്രചാരനിരോധനത്തിൽ ചെയ്യാൻ കഴിയുന്ന പ്രഥമപദ്ധതി.

ഗോതുരുത്തി മദ്യപന്മാരുടെ സങ്കേതസ്ഥാനമെന്നുള്ള അറിയപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അവിടത്തെ നിവാസികളിൽ അധികം പേരിലും വിവേകം ഉദിച്ചതോടുകൂടി അവർ മദ്യപാനത്തെ വെറുക്കുകയും അവിടെ മദ്യഷാപ്പുകൾ തന്നെ സ്ഥാപിക്കരുതെന്നു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനോടു അപേക്ഷിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതായി എനിക്കു അറിയുവാൻ ഇടയായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവരുടെ ഏകോപിച്ചുള്ള ഈ സംരംഭത്തിൽ ഏതൊരേ ഒരാൾ മാത്രം വിപരീതമായി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുകയും ഒരു പ്രത്യേക സ്ഥലം പതിപ്പിച്ചെടുത്തു അതിൽ പുതിയശാല നിർമ്മിക്കുകയും അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ആ ഒരു വ്യക്തിയുടെ സാഹസത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ട് സഹായിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതായി കേൾവിയുണ്ട്. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള സംരംഭങ്ങളെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ട് അംഗീകരിക്കരുതെന്നാണ് എന്റെ സാദരമായ അഭ്യർത്ഥന.

ദുർഗതിവശാൽ ഇന്നലെ ചില പുലയസഹോദരങ്ങളുമായി കണ്ടുമുട്ടുകയും അവരുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഒരു സഹകരണസംഘം സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നുള്ളതിനെക്കുറിച്ച് ഞാൻ അന്വേ

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ന്ധിക്കയും ഉണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ പുലയർ മിക്കപേരും മദ്രാസ്സ് ക്കാരായതിനാൽ അവർക്ക് ബാക്കിവെയ്ക്കുന്ന ശീലം ഇല്ലെന്നാണ് അവരിൽനിന്നും എനിക്ക് അറിവുകിട്ടിയതു. ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ പുലയർ രണ്ടുപ്രാവശ്യം കൂടി ദിവസം കഞ്ഞിക്ക് ഏകദേശം ഫിഷാനി രം ഉറുപ്പികയുടെ കള്ളുവീതം കൂടിക്കുന്നതെന്നറിഞ്ഞാൽ നന്ന്ക്കാണ് അത്ഭുതം തോന്നുന്നതു.

പ്രസിഡണ്ട്.—

ഒരു ദിവസം ഫിഷായിരം രൂപയ്ക്ക് കള്ള് കുടിക്കുമോ?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ (വായനക്കാർ).

അതെ, സർ. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശം 80 000-ൽ അധികം പുലയന്മാരുണ്ടു. അതിൽ 50,000 പേരെ മാത്രമേ മദ്രാസ്സ് ക്കാർ ഗണത്തിൽ പെടുത്തി ഞാൻ കണക്കാക്കീട്ടുള്ളു. അപ്പോൾ നൂറ്റണ്ണായിരം കള്ളു കുടിക്കുന്നതായാൽതന്നും ഒരു ദിവസം അവർ രണ്ടുപ്രാവശ്യം കൂടി ഒരു ലക്ഷം അണയുടെ കള്ളു ചിലവാകും. ഈ കാര്യങ്ങളെക്കണ്ട് അവരുടെ ഇടയിൽ സ്വതന്ത്ര സംഘങ്ങളെ സ്ഥാപിപ്പാൻ നടക്കുമെന്നു ഞാൻ പ്രബലമായി സംശയിക്കുന്നു. വടക്കരുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഞാൻ നാലഞ്ചു സംഘങ്ങളെ സ്ഥാപിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു. അവയിൽ മദ്രാസ്സുകാർ അംഗങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ള സംഘങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതി ഇന്നുദയനീയമായിട്ടതന്നെയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ട് മദ്രാസ്സതിയാകുന്ന ഈ പിശാചിനെ കഴിയുന്നതും വേഗത്തിൽ ഉച്ചാടനം ചെയ്യേണ്ടതു് ഇവിടത്തെ സാധുക്കളുടെ ഗുണത്തെ കാംക്ഷിക്കുന്ന ഏവരുടേയും പ്രത്യേക മുമതലയാണെന്നു വിശ്വസിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് മിസ്റ്റർ മാത്തൂവിന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ഹർഷപൂർവ്വമായി അനുമോദിക്കുന്നു.

The Council adjourned for an hour for lunch. It met again at 3 p. m.

Election of non-officials to the Finance Committee.

President.—We shall now proceed to the election of non-official members to the Standing Finance Committee of this Council.

Mr. GEORGE CHAKYAMURI (*Palliviruttl*).

Sir, I propose Mr. C. A. Ouseph as one of the members to the Finance Committee.

Mr. O. R. CHUMMAR (*Vellarappalli*).

Sir, I second it.

Mr. M. KRISHNA MENON (*Vyttila*).

I propose Mr. C. Achyuta Menon as one of the members.

Mr. V. K. KOCHCHUNNI MENON (*Ernakulam*).

Sir, I second it. I propose that Mr. Ambat Eachara Menon be elected to the Finance Committee.

Mr. N. PADMANABHA MENON (*Cranganur*).

Sir, I second the proposition.

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